1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1969) 1954 F'85 Ngoni F'85
Mpezeni

Chapter One

THE LONG MARCH

1. Sources 2. The Ngoni background 3. Foundation of the State
4. The ministerial system 5. Under Europeanization's leadership 6. Plateau
7. Mpezeni's kingdom 8. Foreign policy

1. *Sources*

What we usually have in mind when we speak of a tribe or nation or empire is a large political unit enduring in time and space. The nation outlives its members, for as they grow old and die their children and grandchildren rise up to take their places. On its fringes there may be continual fluctuations, adjustments of boundaries and migrations of people, but always the majority of the population are born within the national territory and die within it as their ancestors have done before them. There is spatial continuity as well as biological continuity, and the same areas of land, sometimes even the same houses and fields, are occupied and cultivated by successive generations. The Ngoni State, whose history is the subject of this book, was clearly not a state of this kind. It was born suddenly, moved about from one part of Africa to another, and recruited most of its members from outside itself. Only at the end of the nineteenth century, when colonial rule was imposed by Europeans, was the migration of the Ngoni as an organized group brought to an end. Even so, the social and economic development of modern central Africa has ensured that the men and women who from time to time live in Ngoni tribal areas, fixed though these have become, are now part of a wider social system within which they travel great distances in search of work and of kinsmen, wives and friends. Yet despite these differences the Ngoni State, like other states and polities, has had structural, or institutional, continuity. It is an enduring organized social group with a history. The same forms of social organization have endured despite changes in space and despite biological discontinuity; and where these forms have changed there has been continuity even in change.

This history of the Ngoni from the down to 1898 is essentially the history of an armed nation on the march. Our knowledge of it

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more meticulous than others in such matters as discussing proposed changes of site with the county chief and in reporting important deaths to him.

The proportion of villages in each county belonging to other segments under Mpezeni varies from 3 per cent to 61 per cent. These are villages which chose, or were forced, to move away from the chief to whom they were attached in segmentary terms, or else villages belonging to major segments whose lords did not become chiefs. Villages in this category have ties that in certain situations, as when there is a serious quarrel, link them more closely with some other county than with their own. In any county where there are many villages of this kind the solidarity of the county as a social group is not great. The ruling chief has many rivals who seek to divide his county and to become chiefs themselves. We must distinguish here between villages in one county which belong to the segment of another and those interlaping villages which belong to one county but are situated in the territory of another. We shall discuss interlaping villages later (p. 128) in connexion with the territorial aspect of counties.

In Nyasaland the history of administration has been separate from that of Northern Rhodesia, but the Ngoni population there also has divided itself on segmentary lines. For many years the two principal leaders recognized by the Administration have been the heads of segments 3 and 6, and these segments form the cores of the two counties they control. The two county chiefs are now Native Authorities and join with an adjacent Cewa chief to form the Fort Manning Council of Chiefs. This acts as the Native administration body for the Fort Manning division of Lilongwe District.

The geographical distribution of the twelve counties, the neighbouring chiefdoms of other tribes, and the tracts of alienated land are shown in Map D.

The twelve county segments, ten in Northern Rhodesia and two in Nyasaland, are, in the nomenclature of Chapter I, segments 4 to 8 and 9 to 13. We shall refer to counties in the same way by the numbers of the segments corresponding to them. Thus county 4 is the county whose segment is number 4, and so on. County 10 is the Paramount Chief's county. Some of the county segments are primal, others are residual segments left after the formation of primal segments of lower order. The definition of the segments associated with each county is indicated in Table V. This table merely restates information implicit in Diagram 1. The hereditary names of county chiefs are also given.

[Text continues on page 121]

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 F'25 Nguni F'25
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independent group of Nguni. Chibambo mentions how the use of this situation was discontinued when the head of an erstwhile independent group rejoined his parent group.* In recent times people have indicated their disapproval of the Paramount Chief's actions by discontinuing this situation temporarily.

Despite the security of tenure provided by Administration recognition, a chief still needs the support of his people. There is an Nguni maxim, 'chiefainship is people',* and commoners are well aware that it is because they support their chief that he has high status. The simplest and most effective sanction that commoners can employ against their chief is to leave him. Movement from one country to another, from one tribe to another, and from the country to the town and back again is crucial in the working of modern Nguni society. Not all these movements take place as the result of the unpopularity of chiefs, but this is one factor among many. Chibambo records an early example of people moving to separate themselves from the residue of segments : in order to show the longevity of a newly appointed chief, but he goes on to say 'afterwards they found it wise to return to their proper division [segment]'.* In more recent times there are several examples, particularly among villages which entered Ngunilend after 1838 and who therefore largely lack segmental affiliation, of villages and chiefs that have changed from one country to another for political reasons. More significant at the present time are the numbers of ambitious people who emigrate to the towns because, among other things, they cannot find advancement in the political hierarchy. The most striking instance of this is in the family of the late Mpezeni II. He had six sons who survived him. One is now Paramount Chief, and one is still a boy. The other four, including the chief's deputy, are towndwellers in other parts of Africa.

b. *Royal hunts*

The royal hunt is the only occasion on which a country, or more usually a rural district or part of a country, functions as an economic unit. Even then the economic element in the occupation is not very marked. The chief announces, through his messengers, that on such-and-such a day he will hold a royal hunt and that the men of such-and-such villages are to meet in a certain place. The procedure followed on the hunt is exactly the same as on an ordinary hunt, with the chief or someone continued by him in tactical command, though the number of hunters is greater than on a hunt

* Chibambo, *My Nguni*, p. 48. * Ghau-ti Jumbe.
* Chibambo, *My Nguni*, p. 50.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 F'25 Ngoni F'25
Mpezeni

and inter-village movement, reporting infringements to the local Native Court or to the Administration. When employed on these duties they are known as local messengers. They sometimes work in conjunction with employees of the Agricultural or Veterinary Departments. Clerks spend most of their time in the Administration offices but visit villages from time to time to collect tax and to carry out jobs, like selling maize in famine areas, which demand some knowledge of writing. In Nyasaland, however, it is customary for a clerk employed by the Administration to live at the Native Court for longer periods to collect tax. In both countries employees of other technical departments of the Administration, such as Water and Health, are occasional visitors to the villages. The two police forces, Northern Rhodesia Police and Nyasaland Police, are mainly concerned with law enforcement in the towns and on White farms, but come to villages when serious crimes, such as murder, have been reported.

Behind these African employees are the European administrators and authorities on whose orders they act. They form as it were a protective screen round their White superiors, and access to each White official is guarded by his Black messenger. Whites rely to a considerable extent on their Black assistants for information concerning affairs in the villages under their care, and villagers and townsfolk rely on the co-operation of their friends in the employ of the Administration when they seek to appeal. Thus the permanent employees of the Administration stand between two worlds. For the most part they are individuals who are seeking to rise, not in the indigenous rural order but in the new urban situation, in which smart clothes, wealth and a proper disdain for villagers who are content to live in 'the jungle' have high value. Their own way of life is at variance with both that of their White superiors and of the villagers around them.

Not all the African employees of the Administration who work in Nyasaland are domestic Ngoni, but even those who are not are for the most part linked by ethnicity to Ngoni villagers. Thus the relationship between the agricultural demonstrator or the local messenger and the people he has to supervise is not simply an administrative one. There is a tendency to widen the basis of every social relationship to all simple societies, and it is easier to do this when the social distance between the two persons involved is small. Thus non-Ngoni members of the African Civil Service who are posted to Fort Jameson often marry Ngoni women or discover some remote connection of kinship which links them to others around them. Even Ngoni civil servants themselves tend to increase the

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farmers of the ties linking them to the areas in which they find themselves. To give two extreme examples, an agricultural demonstrator, after a few months in a rural compound, sought to marry a daughter of a near-by village headman. A policeman, sent to a village to investigate a murder, married a woman related to the dead man. Marriages of this kind are made partly because there is no other way by which a stranger in a village can be certain of getting enough to eat, but they also serve to broaden and diversify the relationship between the stranger and the people among whom he finds himself. Some of these marriages are terminated when the stranger is moved to another district, but there are a number of instances where Ngoni wives have gone with their stranger husbands to distant mines and towns. This process is, of course, merely part of the much wider one by which many Ngoni women follow their husbands when they leave their villages to seek work in Southern Rhodesia.

Similarly, chiefs and other important rural leaders endeavour to establish enduring relations with members of the African Civil Service. Some civil servants are their kinsmen, for one way by which a junior son of an important man can gain the position he desires but which is denied him by the rule of primogeniture is to enter the Civil Service or to seek advancement in one of the churches. Others are related by affinity, while yet others may go out of the way to offer hospitality to visiting political leaders when they need food and shelter in town. Some Ngoni civil servants maintain large households in the villages, which they visit at week-ends, and which they hope will have grown into recognized villages by the time they come to retire.

Thus there are two distinct groups of Africans concerned with public affairs, the African Civil Service and the Native Authority bureaucracy. They are in intimate association with one another, and both exercise considerable political power. Both are formally distinct from the old political system. But status in traditional terms, as chief or village headman or head of a division or cluster, is still recognized in the face-to-face relations of people generally, and hence there is a continual attempt to bring the two systems into congruence with one another. Clerks aspire to become headmen when they retire, while headmen aspire to be the fathers and fathers-in-law of clerks. This is no new development, for as early as 1907 Bridgeford reported that a Swahili, whose home was near Zanzibar, and who had been a soldier, had founded a small village close to Fort Manning.*

* Bridgeford, 'Natives of Nyasaland', p. 109. See p. 118.

3: Rand E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FRS Ngoni FRS

829 individuals upon the cohesion of that society through their behaviour and actions. This was illustrated in the phrase so constantly used by them, and referred to already several times: 'He is spoiling the land,' or the converse, quoted in Chapter I: 'Young people were well taught that this behaviour was right for the upbuilding of the land.'

Among these so-called group values the first of all, and pre-
M1 eminent above all, was the value of keeping together. Taught
829 by bitter experience that personal quarrels could lead to political secessions and to the diminution of the power and influence of the Ngoni kingdoms, the focus of much of their thinking was on maintaining cohesion whether in small units or in large. I think the Ngoni were the only people in Nyasaland where individuals and families were not allowed to leave the villages to live elsewhere without permission of the chief or headman. In the local courts there were frequent cases in which the accused had been guilty of leaving without permission. This illustration could be used also to indicate the second of the group values. I have called it dominance for want of a better term. It involves the exercise of authority, political and legal, over their own and subject peoples, the determination to exact obedience, influenced by a feeling of paternal responsibility for all over whom authority was claimed. This was an ambivalent sentiment affecting the attitude of the ruler and his relations with the ruled, and was the basis of the court case quoted in Chapter VI, where a chief made a judgement against his own son for adultery with a poor man's wife. The third group value was that of mutual aid and trust within the in-group, in order to secure its cohesion. This was the integrating principle of the 'house' system, described briefly in Chapter I and mentioned in many other contexts. Mutual trust and aid had been in the past the main element in the behaviour of men in their own regiments, in the mutual relation of warrior with warrior, both when on campaign and when living together in the villages.

M1 The four personal values were inherent in the acceptance
577

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Kipsaki
Lindie FOE
Agnew Fitz

[illegible]

BELGIAN CONGO

ERITREA

PORTUGUESE
EAST AFRICA

Native Reserves and Native occupied Crown Lands.
(1939-41).

Resettlement areas and soil erosion areas.
(1941-46).

SKETCH MAP OF PART OF NORTHERN RHODESIA TO SHOW THE AREAS OF THE WESTERN PROVINCE, INCLUDED DISTRICT AND EASTERN PROVINCE, REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT.

The people in the original area were short of food but by no means at starvation level. This was ascertained by taking seven sample villages at random within the congested area and weighing their entire food stocks during the first fortnight of February. From these samples the following data were obtained.

Grain Stocks of Seven Ngoni Villages
(February 1941)

Total population			Total grain stocks
Men	Women	Children	lb.
202	289	331	24,710

Making an allowance for a special reserve of seed against a possible need for replanting, or for loss in preparing flour and for other reasons, the grain stocks represented not more than 20 days usage, and supplies would probably be exhausted by early March. There was much variation between villages; one exceptional village had enough grain for 46 days while in another the grain stocks represented only 4 days supply. It will be remembered, however, that in an African social system, kinship obligations tend to even out the distribution of food supplies.

In striking contrast to these samples, a village which had recently made an illicit move to unoccupied private land was found to have, at the end of February, grain stocks representing 91 days supply. The efforts of failing arable fore make themselves felt in the bad years and it should be noted that the sampling was done in a year following a good climatic season. It will also be noted that villages which would in all probability have reached the starvation level had already transformed themselves.

There is, then, a time lag between the beginning of over-crowded conditions and the point at which obvious symptoms of land degeneration and soil erosion appear. The length of this time lag clearly depends on a number of factors acting together; the type of land and the system used to it, the degree of congestion, the original population density and the rate of population increase, if any. A further variable time lag elapses before conditions of general food shortage are reached. Under some conditions the process of land degradation may result in food shortage within a very few years, while in other cases this result may not appear for twenty years or more.

Within ten years of the creation of reserves in the Mbeshi District obvious land degradation and recurrent food shortages in some areas had reached such a stage as to arouse the attention of District Officers, missionaries and other interested persons, and to create an insistent demand for additional land. The population densities in these areas were 10 to 20 persons per square mile. Other areas of the Territory, notably the reserves of the

S: Allan C-5 (1961) 1949 FRS Ngoni FRS Mpezeni Marsh FRS Lamba FQS

PART IV

THE RESETTLEMENT OF NATIVE POPULATIONS IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

§ 1. *The Problem and its Origin*

In Northern Rhodesia and doubtless over a much greater part of Africa before the coming of the Europeans, the population-land pattern was a changing, kaleidoscopic picture. If an area became overcrowded more land was available, or it could be taken from a neighbouring people. A rough balance between land and population was maintained by means of migration, inter-tribal wars, periodic famine and disease.

With the coming of the Europeans the kaleidoscopic picture was arrested, producing what we may call the primary population-land pattern. This was later modified, by alienation and reservation of land and by the movement of peoples into Native reserves, to produce a secondary pattern. New economic factors have as by-product this secondary pattern only to a minor extent, but it may be expected that they will tend to do so increasingly in the future.

The secondary population-land pattern was brought about mainly by the movement of the African population into Native reserves. As a result of this movement large areas of Crown Land were left practically uninhabited, and a number of factors operating together brought about mal-distribution and congestion of population within the reserves themselves.

So far the problem has been studied in detail only in the Fort Jameson and Petauke Districts of the Eastern Province, the Mkushi District of the Central Province and the Ndola District of the Western Province, and it is within these districts that resettlement work—other than the 'Chinsenene Control' schemes—has been carried out. The four districts are contiguous and the total area within them in which this discussion refers is about 32,000 square miles (4,000 square miles more than the whole land area of Scotland but only about one-sixth of the area of Northern Rhodesia) with a total population, in round figures, of 290,000 (about one-sixth of the total population of the Territory).

The primary population-land pattern was such that the ten tribes living within this area had ample or much more than ample land, except to a minor extent in the Fort Jameson District where the incursion of the immigrant Ngoni in the late 19th century had created a potential congestion problem. Under former conditions this problem would doubtless have resolved itself, or it arose by migration of the Chewa to north and west, under pressure from the Ngoni, but once the kaleidoscopic pattern was arrested no such

[p. 71]

S: Allan C-5 (1941)1949 FR5 Ngoni FR5 ●
Mpezeni
Lamba FQ8
Maravi FR4

Fig 1.— THE ORIGINAL POPULATION-LAND PATTERN
Showing areas held by tribes.

movement was possible. The lands of the Ngoni and Chewa were then reduced, by alienation to European settlers and by reservation, to an extent which the following figures illustrate:

Habitable Land held by Tribes (square miles)

	Chewa	Ngoni*
Before Ngoni invasion	1,500	-
After Ngoni invasion	1,200	1,200
After land alienation	1,125	975
After creation of reserves	900	675

Throughout the Fort Jameson and Mpezeni Districts the amount of land alienated by European settlers was negligible, but the Senga, Ambo, Lala and Bemba peoples were moved into Reserves some of which proved totally inadequate for the land needs of their traditional agricultural systems.

In the west (Ndola District) the congestion problem arose largely as a result of displacement of people from the area which is now the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia, a land boom which fell on the Lamba tribe. The land area of Mushiri's section of the Lamba, for example, which formerly included part of the Copperbelt, was reduced from 2,200 to 360 square miles. The Lamba were removed from the new mining areas and this movement accompanied by some migration of more distant peoples attracted by the mines, gave rise to a belt of relatively high population concentration above the northern and eastern margins of the Copperbelt.

* With a minimum of Chewa and other tribes.

5: Allan C-5 (1961) 1949 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni
Lamba FOS
Malawi FRS

In demarcating the Reserves three assumptions were made; that populations would prove sufficiently fluid to adapt themselves to the altered circumstances and to attain an equitable distribution in relation to the available land, that artificial water supplies would be provided on a scale sufficient to allow of such a distribution and that improvement in methods of agriculture would be sufficiently rapid to compensate for land lost and to provide for increasing populations. However reasonable these assumptions may have been at the time, none has been verified by events. The boundaries of tribes and chieftainships remained static, there was little or no migration from over-populated to under-populated areas and in one instance congestion was aggravated by immigration from outside the Territory. The systems of land usage tended to degenerate rather than to improve, partly owing to increasing pressure on the land and partly because of migration of the men to the centres of employment. It was assumed too that adequate agricultural and water development services would be provided, and it proved beyond the resources of the country to provide such services in time to meet the need.

As a result of these factors, some of which could not have been foreseen owing to the lack of adequate data at the time, and some of which, like the economic depression and its effect on territorial finances, were unpredictable, extreme maldistribution arose in some parts of the Reserves. By 1941 more than half of the people within the Native Reserves of the four districts were living under conditions of more or less acute land shortage in relation to the land needs of their traditional systems, and very considerable areas were in process of rapid degeneration.

There is now little point in discussing whether or not the application of measures for agricultural improvement could have solved the problems of over-concentration without transfer of populations. In all probability no measures which would have been practicable could have met the case. The agriculture of a people can be rapidly developed only if three factors are present together; the means, the incentive and the will. Throughout the area we are discussing these factors were and for the matter still are, to a large extent absent. Except for local concentrations of cattle among the Ngoni, Chewa and eastern Senga, stock are lacking or negligible in numbers. The only implements are the hoe and the axe. A high proportion of the able bodied men are away at work, and the main source of income is from local employment by Europeans or the fraction of the wages of migrant labour which returns to the villages. With one or two local exceptions there are no cash crops sufficiently remunerative to compete with the attraction of the labour centres or to act as an incentive and provide the means for agricultural improvement. Nor was there any will to adopt new, incomprehensible and laborious methods while great areas of land, formerly in the possession of the people, remained empty and unused. This psychological factor alone would have defeated, and where it was attempted did defeat, all efforts at agricultural improvement. In addition, throughout most of the cattle areas of the Eastern Province population concentrations had reached such a level that even the immediate general adoption of an advanced system

S: Allan C-5 (1941)1949 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni
Lo Bemba FRS
Marau FRS

of mixed farming would not have solved the problem without the transfer of a considerable proportion of the people.

§ 2. *Recommendations of the Land Commission*

In 1941 a large part of the land held by the North Charterland Exploration Company in the Fort Jameson and Petauke Districts was acquired by Government, and in 1942 a Land Commission was appointed which included in its terms of reference the making of 'full provision for the agricultural requirements of the Natives'. This Commission recommended that some 3,000 square miles of unalienated Crown Land in the Fort Jameson and Petauke Districts, about 2,000 square miles in the Mkushi District and 4,800 square miles in the Ndola District, should be constituted Native Trust Land and made available for Native occupation.

§ 3. *The Problem of Resettlement*

The problem then reached itself into making the best possible use of the additional land, and using it in such a way as to restore the population-land balances where this could be done. It was not, of course, possible, even if it had been desirable, to recreate the primary population-land pattern, but the grant of additional land gave an opportunity of creating a planned tertiary pattern to replace the arbitrary secondary pattern.

Such planning requires a detailed knowledge of the land and of the agricultural systems employed on it. Fortunately the basic knowledge had already been provided by the Ecological Survey of the Territory. The vegetation-soil method, evolved by Trapnell, provided a rapid and reliable means of land classification and, again on the basis of the work of the survey, a method of estimating approximate land carrying capacities for traditional African systems of usage was devised. Descriptions of the vegetation-soil method of land classification will be found in the two reports of the Ecological Survey and notes on the factors involved in the estimation of land carrying capacities are given in the second of these reports.*

A complete description of the method of estimating land carrying capacities, as employed in the resettlement work, and examples of its application are given in the other papers in this series.

It is necessary to understand clearly what is meant by the terms 'land carrying capacity' and 'population-land balance', as they are used here. There is a very definite limit to the number of people any land area will support in perpetuity, if the population obtains its food only from within that area. This limit is fixed by certain natural characteristics of soil and

* *The Soils, Vegetation and Agricultural Systems of North Western Rhodesia*, Lusaka: Government Printer, 1948. *The Soil, Vegetation and Agricultural Systems of North Eastern Rhodesia*, Lusaka: Government Printer, 1949.

climate and by the way in which the land is used. If the limit is exceeded *without a compensating change in the system of land usage* then a process of land degradation is set in operation and ultimately, unless food is obtained from outside the area, population must decline to the limit determined by natural conditions and the system of land use, or to a lower level. This limit, the maximum number of people that a given land area will maintain in perpetuity under a certain system of land usage, has been termed the 'carrying capacity' of the area *for that system*. It will be clear that the term can be used only in relation to a clearly defined system of land usage. Throughout these notes, where no statement to the contrary is made, the expression is used in relation to the traditional agricultural system of the tribes concerned. These systems, and the staple crops which go with them, vary greatly within the relatively small area of 31,000 square miles, and range from a primitive form of axe-agriculture among the Western Lala to comparatively advanced soil selection methods practised by the Eastern tribes. Descriptions of all of these systems will be found in the publications to which reference has already been made.

The term 'population-land balance' hardly requires definition. If the total population of an area is equal to or less than the land capacity for the agricultural system practised, then a population-land balance exists within that area. When the total population is well below the land carrying capacity the area may be described as under-populated.

These concepts, and the methods of survey and of estimating the carrying capacities for the different land categories and agricultural systems, were applied to the problem of resettlement. Rapid reconnaissance surveys were made throughout the populated areas, with the objects of assessing approximately the land carrying capacity for each chief's area and estimating the number of people who would have to be moved to unoccupied land in order to re-establish a population-land balance on the basis of the traditional agricultural systems. The estimate indicated that a total of about 100,000 people would have to be moved, as shown in the Table below.

District	Chiefs	Number of people to be moved
Fort Jameson	(Name illegible)	10,000
Petauke	(Name illegible)	12,000
Mkushi	(Name illegible)	2,000
Ndola	Lumba	10,000

The estimates make no allowance for the readjustment of population distribution within the old Reserves. Some districts were in fact much under-populated and in some of the Reserves considerable areas remained almost or completely uninhabited because of water shortage, the consi-

S: Allen C-5 (1961) 1969 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni
Lambe FQ5
Marani FR4

cases of sleeping sickness or for other reasons. It would have been possible by re-distribution of populations within the old Reserve, in conjunction with provision of water supplies and measures against 'fly', materially to reduce the number of people to be moved to unoccupied land. Such a course would have involved serious political repercussions and, in view of the amount of land available, it was never contemplated.

The most essential step was to survey the vacant land available for resettlement, to prepare vegetation and maps of the areas, and to estimate the carrying capacity of each area for the traditional agricultural economy of the people who would occupy it. In the Eastern Province and the Mpika District surveys were made on the basis of parallel straight line traverses, using liquid prismatic compasses and cyclometer wheels. Traverse lines were usually one mile apart, but wider intervals up to three miles were used, in order to save time, if the country was relatively uniform or if no high degree of accuracy was required. In some instances, where very accurate maps were wanted, the traverse interval was reduced to one half or one quarter of a mile. Information on water supplies, the areas of cultivated land and timber, the former inhabitants and other relevant details, was entered in the course of these surveys. In the case of Mkushi District, where there was an abundance of available land in relation to the needs of the population, sample traverses only were used. The methods of survey and mapping are described in one of the other papers in this series.

When estimates had been made of the number of people to be moved, from each of the over-crowded distributions, and the carrying capacity of the available land, divided into convenient areas, had been ascertained, the planning of population movements became, in theory, simple. In practice, of course, there were a good many difficulties.

Tribal boundaries and the original ownership of the land had to be taken into consideration, though these were not regarded as permanent and, in fact, a large area formerly occupied by the Senga was used for the resettlement of a section of the Chewa. Other factors also had to be considered. There is, obviously, a physical limit; fifty miles was regarded as the maximum practical move, but in extreme cases villages were moved as much as seventy miles. Traditional systems of land usage are, generally, adaptations to particular sets of ecological conditions and people have to be moved into an environment unsuited to their food crops and method of production. Conservative people will not willingly move to better country leaving their lands behind.

Water supplies proved to be a very great difficulty over large areas, especially in the Eastern Province. Natural supplies are not sufficient to allow of full utilization of the land on the basis of a carrying capacity, and in some cases practically no settlement was possible before artificial watering points had been provided. It appeared that, in the Eastern Province at least, permanent surface water had greatly diminished in the course of twenty years during which the land had been occupied. The old sites of villages and their sources of water supply were outside the zones of the

S: Allan C-5 (1941)1949 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni
Lamba FQE
Marwi FRY

surveys. In an astonishing number of cases these sites were in completely waterless country and what were stated to have been permanent streams, pools and springs had dried up. The fierce late fires which swept through the empty country each year may have been a major cause of the desiccation.

§ 4. *Roads and Watering Points*

After surveys had been completed and before movement into an area started, roads (generally earth tracks twelve feet wide) were constructed. These were completed in order to facilitate movements of people and their food-stocks and goods, to enable subsequent supervision and to allow of the construction of watering-points. The preliminary surveys and the maps constructed from them were invaluable in planning the road systems in relation to topography and soils, so that they would be passable throughout the year.

Wherever necessary plans were prepared in advance, also on the basis of the preliminary surveys, to provide sufficient water for the number of people to be moved into each area, and the work of constructing water points was undertaken by the Water Development Department. Water was usually provided by means of dug wells (20 to 100 feet in depth), occasionally supplemented by bore-holes, but in some areas wells were unsuccessful and earth dams were constructed. In one locality, the Mushiri resettlement area of Ndola, a particularly favourable site was used to make a large central dam which was stocked with bream (*Tilapia* spp.) in the hope of producing a fish supply for the surrounding villages. A large scale water programme was undertaken, and is still in progress, in the Eastern Province and a minor programme of some thirty wells has been completed in Ndola District where natural supplies are very much better.

§ 5. *Game and Tsetse Control*

Another difficulty was the occurrence of destructive game in unoccupied country. Villages commonly objected to movement on the grounds that elephant and wild pigs would destroy the crops, an objection which often concealed a good deal of wilfulness.

Reduction of destructive game was carried out, so far as ammunition supplies and trained African staff would allow, by the Department of Game and Tsetse Control.

In the northern part of Fort Jameson District, where a few cases of sleeping sickness appeared among villages moved into a 'fly' area, a campaign of game elimination was undertaken by the Department in conjunction with the clearing of 'game pan' (pockets of *Hibiscus Sturmii* on competing pedzoni soils, generally near watercourses). These measures appear to be giving very satisfactory and rapid results and the fly has been much reduced or eliminated in areas where it was formerly abundant.

9: Allen C-5 (1941) 1949 FRS Pigeni FRS Mpezeni

Other parts of the Eastern Province resettlement areas are also 'fly' country, but apparently free from sleeping sickness and it is only in the northern area that intensive measures against tsetse have been carried out so far. The large available land area in Mkushi enabled the relatively small 'fly' areas to be avoided. This was fortunate as sleeping sickness is believed to be endemic in the western 'fly' areas of Mkushi.

The resettlement area of Ndola District was believed to contain sparse 'fly' in local pockets. Trials were made by the Agricultural and Veterinary Departments in co-operation by placing herds of cattle throughout the area and grazing them within a definite range about the kraals. Ten herds each of five beasts were used; the animals were numbered and blood slides were taken from each at frequent intervals. As a result of these trials it was found that almost the whole area was free of trypanosomiasis and suitable for stock raising, and the small areas of 'fly' infestation were defined.

§ 6. *Method of Settlement*

Areas for resettlement were allocated to each tribe and chieftaincy in accordance with the general plan to restore the population-land balance as far as possible. Movement was, in theory at least, entirely voluntary but in many cases a good deal of persuasion was necessary to obtain the necessary number of villages. Most villages naturally preferred that their neighbour should move and that they should take over the vacated land rather than go to the trouble of moving. District Officers and Agricultural Officers held preliminary discussions with the people and the question of the villages to move into the resettlement areas was settled with the co-operation of the Native Authorities. Population counts of these villages were made, usually by District Officers.

Headmen and other representatives of the villages who had finally elected to move then viewed the area allocated to them and selected sites for the new villages. The headmen and the villagers almost invariably arranged this matter among themselves without any difficulty whatsoever. The selected sites were then marked on the Vegetation-Soil Map. Blocks of land having an estimated carrying capacity approximating to the total villages population, allowing for temporary diversion, were demarcated around the selected sites, using roads, streams, hills and cut or blazed lines as boundaries. Estimates of land carrying capacity were, of course, based on the traditional agriculture of the people concerned. This allocation of land areas for individual villages proved universally popular; the people are jealous of their boundaries and, apparently, willing to maintain them. They have usually built permanent store houses, to replace temporary timber structures, where the boundaries are not clearly defined by natural features.

This general method of controlled settlement was not individually applied as always possible. The great management area of the Eastern Province,

S: Allan C-5 (1941) 1949 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni
Marathi FQ4
Lamba FQ5

approximately on the contour and parallel to demarcated 'marker' ridges on the true contour. A system of contour cultivation has now been developed which is proving practical and effective. The 'marker' ridges are demarcated at a vertical interval of two feet six inches and are gradually converted by the people into more or less broad-based banks. In the first year the ridge is built up to a base width of six feet and a height of not less than six inches. The base and height are increased until a permanent bank eight feet wide at the base and eighteen inches in height is completed. Villages on the 'no pull' system can change over to contour cultivation if the majority of people elect to do so. New villages are allowed to move into resettlement areas in the Eastern Province only on condition that they agree to practise contour cultivation; they are given four or five years to adapt themselves to the new system but in many cases practically the whole of the new gardens are under ridges by the end of the second year. Cultivation practice has been adapted to the new system and, meanwhile, experiments are being made to find the best methods of ridging, sowing and planting of crops for use in conjunction with the ridge cultivation system.

In the Ndola District gardens are laid off between contour grass strips at vertical intervals of two feet. The people are then encouraged to convert the grass strip into three parallel ridges approximating to the normal dimensions of their mounds for subsidiary crops and to plant the ridges with beans and cowpeas; or to make one or two such ridges and plant the remainder of the strip with groundnuts on the flat—a combination of contour ridges and strip cropping. This method, an adaptation of normal Lamba practice was adopted after a series of trials to find the simplest method of erosion control acceptable to these somewhat backward people. The object is not only to check erosion but to enable the cultivation of subsidiary crops, now almost entirely neglected. The planting of the ridges to beans and cowpeas and the strips to groundnuts restores the balance between cereals and legumes and should allow of a small surplus for sale. The idea seems to be less unpopular than one might expect and most villages have made a satisfactory effort to convert the strips into ridges for the cultivation of subsidiary crops.

Contours are laid off by trained African Assistants of the Department of Agriculture, using rod tracers, and it has been found necessary during the initial stages of settlement to have one or two African Assistants* for at least every two villages or, approximately, for every 600 to 1,000 people. Constant supervision is maintained during the initial phase by the African Agricultural Assistants in co-operation with District Messengers and the Native Authorities. This supervision is irksome and resented by some of the older people but it is, perhaps, significant that at a recent meeting of the African Regional Council of the Western Province after the subject had been freely debated, the council voted by a large majority for an increase in the number of Agricultural Captains.

Fruit tree planting has also been introduced and in the Eastern and Western Provinces laws made by the Native Authorities require each household

* Usually one and a former assistant at Ndola.

to plant a small number of trees (four per hut is the general rule). Seeds, seedlings and cuttings of mango, mulberry, lemon, guava, pawpaw and banana are distributed free from Departmental and Native Authority nurseries. The trees are planted within or about the area of the new villages and the people are on the whole willing enough to plant them but show little inclination to care for them once they have been planted. Losses from drought and damage from fowls and small stocks are fairly heavy and in the Western Province two severe winters in succession have frosted off a number of young plantations. It is still uncertain whether this attempt to establish village orchards will be successful.

The only other general restrictions on land use are the prohibition of cultivation within demarcated areas and of late burning of grass and bush. In all village blocks non-cultivation areas have been demarcated for the preservation of streamsides and steep slopes. Areas have also been demarcated as Forest Reserves for future timber supplies and for the protection of watersheds, and in some cases land which is not required for present use has been reserved against the future needs of a growing population. Late burning of grass and bush is prohibited and the responsibility for early burning of the village blocks is placed upon the headmen concerned. These prohibitions are enforced by Native Authority Rules.

§ 8. *Housing*

In most of the resettlement areas an attempt has been made to improve the standard of housing and the layout of villages and on the whole this has been fairly successful. When the permanent site has been selected (sometimes a lengthy business involving consultation with the ancestral spirits) the lay-out of the village is planned and the situation of each building marked out by an African Assistant. The people are persuaded to adopt a somewhat higher standard of building, but no compulsion is used and they have generally been willing enough to do so if the standard expected is not too high. The standard of housing and village lay-out is certainly an improvement, if not a very great one, on the standard within the Reserves.

In the Western Province a number of model villages have been built of Kimberley brick. These were built by the villagers themselves, with the assistance of a small team of skilled builders and thatchers employed by the Administration. The object was to stimulate a desire for better housing and it seems to have done so in some degree since most of the other villages have now volunteered to become 'models'.

§ 9. *Assisted Movements*

The movement of a village for a comparatively short distance, a day's journey of fifteen miles or so, does not present any particular difficulty and the Africans has long been used to such movements. If it is impossible

St Allan C-S (1941) 1949 FRS Ngoni FRS
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Lamba FQB
MBRAVI FR4

to clear large enough gardens at the new site in the first year a part of the old gardens can be used, for it is easy to travel back and forward between the old and new villages. The majority of the moves were of this order and no assistance was required or given. In the case of longer moves, heavy household goods and food stocks were transported by motor lorry, or in some instances when it was convenient to do so the entire grain stock was bought at the old village and food, purchased locally, was sold at the new site. This enabled the people to give the whole of their time to preparing a large garden acreage in the first year. The great majority of villages moving for moderate or long distances (twenty five to seventy miles) succeeded in preparing large enough gardens and growing sufficient food for themselves in the first year. A few did not, for one reason or another, such as starting too late, a bad season or just plain laziness, and these villages were supplied with food in the first season either in return for work or on promise of repayment after a good harvest. Less than 5 per cent of villages received such relief.

§ 10. *The Progress of Resettlement*

It was estimated that, in order to restore a complete population-land balance, about 141,200 people would have to be moved from the Reserves of the Fort Jameson and Petauke Districts. No such movement was, in fact, possible. The total carrying capacity of the land available for resettlement which contained a vast mass of escarpment hills and other large areas of almost useless land, was estimated to be 78,000 people. This land was, of necessity, allocated to the tribal groups in the following way:

Ngoni and Chewa	:	Sufficient land	for	35,000	people
Senga	:	"	"	35,000	"
Amber	:	"	"	8,000	"

Thus in the case of the Ngoni and Chewa the available land was totally insufficient to allow of the restoration of a population-land balance, while in the case of the other peoples such a balance could be achieved.

Two alternatives were possible; to re-distribute the Ngoni and Chewa populations more or less evenly over the new land and the Reserves, in which case both would be over-populated in relation to their carrying capacities, or to populate the new land to the maximum of its carrying capacity, leaving the Reserves still over-populated. The latter course was adopted for a variety of reasons, including the fact that much of the new land was tsetse infested and the keeping of cattle and development of mixed farming would not be possible at least for a very considerable time. The Reserves, on the other hand, carried many cattle and, with reduction of the population by resettlement, would be able to support their populations on a basis of mixed farming.

Movement was therefore designed to populate the new areas to the maximum of their carrying capacity and to reduce the agricultural problem

5: Allan C-5 (1941) 1949 FRS Ngoni FRS ● Mpezeni Lamba FQ8 Maravi FR4

M N 166 311 648

of the Reserves to manageable proportions, leaving an excess of population, but not too great an excess, within the cattle areas.

L M 166 311 648

In Petauke District, where there is ample land available, the object aimed at is a complete restoration of the population-land balance by controlled movement of some 35,000 Senga and uncontrolled movement of 8,000 Ambo and Senga-Kunda.

L M N 166 648

Survey work in the Eastern Province started in 1941 and a few pioneer villages were moved in that year, but the main movement started in 1942 (when over 18,000 people were moved) and it is still in progress. By the end of 1945 the programme was more than half completed; 292 villages (about 32,000 people) had been moved into controlled 'village blocks' or 'parish settlements' in addition to uncontrolled or partially controlled movements in the escarpment area and parts of the Fort Jameson District. The comparatively slow rate of progress is due to water-shortage. Large areas in Petauke District and the north of Fort Jameson have not yet been settled for this reason, while in the latter area there is also some danger of sleeping sickness, and measures for the control of 'fly' (game destruction and clearing of 'hard pan') are in progress. Settlement is continuing at the rate set by provision of water supplies and the control of tsetse.

L M N [312] [136]

L 648 311 166

The Mkushi District presents an entirely different picture since the available land is about twice as much as the present population require, on the basis of their traditional agricultural practice. Here, instead of village blocks, comparatively large areas have been demarcated to take a number of villages and there is no strict control. The Superior Native Authority has introduced rules intended to bring about a gradual conversion from small circle *chitemene* (a primitive form of axe-agriculture) to hoe cultivation of kaffir corn with subsidiary gardens for a variety of crops.

L [292]

The land not actually required for immediate use has not been allocated but is being held in reserve against the future needs of the African people and the Native Authorities undertake responsibility for early burning within the reserved land.

The bulk of the necessary population transfers have already been carried out.

In Ndola District also the available land is considerably greater than present needs and some is being held in reserve. Populations moved from the congested zone about the mines have been settled in village blocks and, apart from an area demarcated for immediate settlement in 1943 to relieve actual starvation, there is no uncontrolled settlement.

Movement of 120 villages, having a total estimated population of 11,775, was completed in 1945. It has since been found, however, that the population counts made by a District Officer seconded for the purpose are in fact over-estimated and a considerable number of the blocks are under-populated and further movements may be necessary.

Gaussay E.G-S (ca. 1906) 1907 FRS Signed FRS

VI

A VILLAGE EXODUS

1. The village chief, when he wishes to remove the village to a new site, tells the young men of the village beforehand to look out all the building materials necessary. These they will just pile up. Then some day the head old man gets up very early in the morning to go and seek a suitable spot. When he finds a good place, he says, "Yes, this is where I shall build" (lit. "This is my place"). When he goes to the village that evening, he tells them not to break the rules enforced on such occasions, as he wishes to "kindle fire in the forest," as he is tired of the present site of the village. Next morning at dawn he rises very early, along with his brother and the medicine man, and goes to the site of the new village. They begin to walk all round, tying grass tufts into little knots and smearing them with medicine, and they make fire where they are going to build the *Kuku* hut, and they put some medicine on the fire, and bring water, and blow it in a spray out of their mouth. And the reason they thus medicine-guard the village, is for fear of lions and human flesh-eaters. Then the village people come with the building materials, and they are told to "clear the ground." And they do so, and when this is finished, the chief takes the door-posts and sticks them in position, and also the side-posts, when others put them in (firmly). When the *Kuku* hut is completed they begin with that of the headman. When dark others leave, going back to the old village. There remain only the chief, and the others who will continue to sleep there, not

again returning to the old village. That evening they take some of the fire (that they made earlier in the day) to kindle a fire with in the (new) hut (*Kaka*). In kindling it they do not squat down, they blow the faggots into flame from a standing position, and they do this lest the smoke might ever after hang in wreaths over the floor. The women-folk come every day to cook.

II. When the chief's huts are finished, they build those of the old men, and when these are complete, they bring all the huts [from the old village]. When they see that all the huts are finished, beer is made at the old village, and they go and bring the spirits. He who has a grave prays some beer in a gourd-pot and places it on the grave, saying, "We have gone hence, you must not search for us here, come let us go together." On that day they demolish all the huts that remain, they leave only the huts of which the occupant has lately died. When now the sun begins to slant westward, from the *Kaka* hut they take five gourd-pots, and fill them with beer and make young women carrying these lead the way. The head old woman of the *Kaka* hut goes first, the chief wife of the chief follows *Gogo*, and then come the ones carrying the beer. When they arrive at the new village they set down the gourd-pots and all the people assemble. The elder of the village then begins to propitiate, saying, "There is the beer we down on earth have made, we have gone from yonder, we present to you your new village, all men you will have a care for." Then the village chief makes a present of a goat and hands it to the old man, and he again speaks, saying, "Here is a goat which your child presents, you will wash it down with the beer." If the goat makes water, that is to say the spirit consents, if it will not they do not kill it. Then they kill the goat

and take the liver, and lungs, and stomach, and eat them down beside the beer, and cut off some meat from a leg-leg, and roast it, and cut off a piece, and give the head of the Kabo hut, and eat another piece, and the chief eats it, and another his old men eat, and then they begin to cut off bits for their children. The rest of the meat is put in a basket, and next morning is cut up.

111. When the propitiation of the spirits is finished the chief tells his headmen, "To-day you must cook some relish, and give it to all the people, and finish the ceremony in connection with the snakes." So he (the headman) sleeps with his wife, and in the morning she takes the relish to give to the chief. All persons of lesser importance come and take theirs from the hut, and any one who is at a distance at the time has his put aside. Now the ceremony is over, and the villagers again resume cohabitation with their wives [broken off since the beginning of the ceremony]. One month passes, and then a great quantity of beer is cooked all over the village, and they have a dance that at the new village the ground may become trampled and hard. When some further time has elapsed, they cook beer, to demolish the huts of the dead, that were left standing at the old village. At the new village, when a man dies, the first one to do so is buried at the old village; when one of the village elders dies, he is buried at the new settlement, and thereafter all who die are buried there.

631/ usually in the male line, and, when things being equal, it is the eldest
632 son of the chief who succeeds his father. However, if the heir is
a minor, the job of running the village may be undertaken by a
brother of the deceased or by the first headman of the village, and
in this case difficulties may be placed in the way of the rightful heir
should he claim his heritage on maturity. The usurper or his successors
may take the name of the founder of the village as though there had
been no break in the succession. There is among the Ngoni little of the
551 importance attached to the inheritance of name that is reported from
other tribes of the region. Anyone may use the name of any of his
patrilineal ancestors, as does, for example, most of the members of the
royal lineage, men and women, use the name of Mpezeni as forced
ancestor in addition to their other personal names.

To assist him in his work a headman may nominate a deputy, and
629 there may be in the village one or more headmen. The office of
headman is a large and prosperous village tends to be hereditary, but
if there is no suitable successor the headman may appoint a man from
another family to succeed. Many headmen have no deputy and some
have no headmen.

In pre-conquest times the small residential group appears to have
640/ consisted of the men of an effective minimal patrilineage,[1] their wives,
582 and the families of their prisoners of war. With the passage of time
179 some of the senior captives became headmen of the land of the lineage
and there was intermarriage between the aristocratic lineage and
the captured families as well as between one captured family and
another. This process of intermarriage has continued and I found, in
every village I examined in the Northern Rhodesia counties, that each
person is related to everyone else in the village, ethnically and organically,
in at least one way, while many people are related to each other
by a number of different paths. In the Nyasaland counties this process
of ethnic assimilation has not been going on for so long, and here I
encountered families of former captives who have not yet been linked
by marriage to the family of their aristocratic captors.

Movement

96/ A village is likely to stay in the same place for a dozen years or so.
● 766 During this time some of the huts will have fallen down and have been

[1] Forde, *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 190: '... the effective minimal lineage, that is the lineage of smallest span which emerges as a corporate unit in economic, jural, and ritual activities and is differentiated from other units of a like sort.'

19: Barnes E-5 (1965-1969) 1959
FRS Nguni FRS
Nguoni

replaced by new ones, but the village as a whole may be regarded as stationary. The exhaustion of garden land in the vicinity of the village is a fundamental reason for moving, as with the passage of time a man has to go further and further from the village to find new land. Sooner or later it becomes more convenient to move the village to some locality where there is plenty of regenerated land on which gardens can be made. The death of the headman is sometimes followed by a move to a new site, while quarrels within a village may cause a group of the inhabitants to go off and live on their own, usually after the latter has been referred to the chief. Since 1898 many villages have moved off land allocated to Whites, or away from congested areas.

Yet the Administration is the instigator of the move, the new village site is a matter for discussion between District Officer, county chief and village headmen. In moves made on the initiative of the Pagers, the various possible new sites are reconnoitred by the headmen and other important people in the village and the site chosen is submitted to the chief for his approval. The few people start to make clearances in the vicinity of the site, and work is started on the new village. For this a recently abandoned garden site may be chosen, as it is easy to clear. The first structure to be built is usually a cattle byre. Making a byre is very hard work, and I was told that if it was built last it would be difficult to get people to tackle the job. Barnes, writing of Gumede's Nguni of central Nyasaland, relates how the headman's hut is built before the others, but this custom appears to be unknown in Fort Jameson District.[1]

Building is begun by the more industrious before the rains end, and is completed after the harvest. The transition from the old site to the new is gradual, so, unless the distance between the sites is too great, people will continue working the gardens in the old area until theirs exhausted. New gardens are indeed opened up on the old site of a village, and it is quite common to see the ground dug up between the huts at the end of the rains while there are people still living there.

1 Young, *Folk-Lore Stories*, pp. 109-11. Fraser, *Winning a Primitive People*, pp. 203- gives an account of the building of a new village among Members' Nguni of eastern Nyasaland, in which the cattle byre was built first, but it must be remembered that this was a village built round a central byre, after the fashion of the South-East Bantu, whereas the cattle byre in a Fort Jameson village is nowadays a smaller enclosure on the outskirts of the village.

18: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FRS Digest FRS
Missouri

361 Here sometimes become infested with ticks, or the dirt itself may prove to be intolerably damp. New huts are then built a short distance away or even contiguously to the old site, and no new gardens are made apart from those made among the deserted huts.

Internal Segmentation of the Village

361 421 We have already seen that the divisions within the village are embryonic new villages. These divisions are most formally indicated in the Hyamboni countries, where there are large villages divided into a distinct number of divisions, with the spatial boundaries between the divisions indicated by a greater interval between the huts, and with each division named and under the charge of a headman or of a patrilineal kinsman of the headman. On the Rhodesian side, however, it is more usual to find that certain small clusters of huts within a village are regarded as being the division of such and such a person living in one of them. The huts of the huts in the village do not belong to any particular cluster but merely to the village as a whole. These clusters do not have any name apart from that of their senior inhabitant, whose close relatives occupy the huts of the cluster. The leader of a cluster may be a headman of the headman or merely some important person with a comparatively large body of dependents. Such clusters, which are often on the periphery of the village, sometimes originate from the grouping together by a polygynist of the huts of his various wives, and grow as their children marry and live alongside their parents. Another mechanism for the formation of clusters is that ●[166] of immigration into the village at about the same time by a number of persons related to each other more closely than to the other inhabitants of the village, as, for example, on the break-up of some other village. The immigrants tend to build together if there is room. In this case the leader of the cluster may have little standing in the village. The boundaries of clusters are not always plainly indicated, while a man who is ambitious to make his own village may as a first step try to increase the clarity with which his cluster is defined spatially.

Land Utilization

311 241 We may divide gardens into three types: main, old village, and moist. The moist gardens are made near streams, and are fenced to keep out cattle. Tomatoes, cabbages, onions, and other vegetables are grown, and maize is planted during the hot season so that it can be harvested in December or January. These gardens are cultivated only by the

10: Bacons E-2 (1946-1949) 1959
FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

Lupa goldfields and Tete on Salisbury. Nowadays almost everyone goes by lorry, but even so that a man has to go a long way before he can arrive at an island of friends in one of the urban centres. This means that, for the Ngoni, emigration is a definite event, and does not occur as a result of a gradual drifting further and further away from the tribal area. Lorries run from Fort Jameson to Lusaka and to Lilongwe, and from Mlanda to Mzuzu in Southern Rhodesia. There is also a lorry service from Lusaka to Fort Jameson, but this does not load anywhere else, and is not used by Mpezeni's people except locally. Lusaka is on a railway line, Lilongwe is connected by bus and train to Blantyre, while Mzuzu is on the way to Salisbury. It is these lorry routes which now provide the links with the outside world, and along which people and goods travel, the people in both directions, and the goods, apart from tobacco, mainly inwards. Use of these routes is controlled by the chiefs, the Administration, by economic factors, and by the workers. This last has been less important of late, and the roads are seldom impassable for more than a week at a time, however heavy the rains. In order to travel on the lorries from Fort Jameson a man must have a ticket, which costs £1 for the journey to Lusaka, and less for the trip to Lilongwe. The lorry service from Mlanda to Mzuzu is free.

The Administration exercise control by insisting that no man shall leave the Territory of Northern Rhodesia unless he is in possession of an Identification certificate endorsed by the Administration permitting him to do so. In practice, such endorsements are not usually made unless the man can produce written permission from the chief that he is free to go. This working arrangement is intended to ensure that men do not flee the country when there are cases pending against them, and to prevent unjustifiable desertion of wives and children. In fact men are sometimes given permission to go while cases in which they are involved are still unheard.

The emigration of women and children is further controlled in that there is a law[1] forbidding a woman to leave the tribal area except in the company of her husband, or with a pass to leave from the Native Authority. Sucking children are allowed to accompany their mothers, but other children under the age of sixteen are not allowed to leave the province without permission of the Native Authority,[2] while boys

[1] Ngoni Native Authority Order 24.

[2] Ngoni N. A. Order 39. The child must be either accompanied by its parents or else accompanied by a guardian on the way to join its parents.